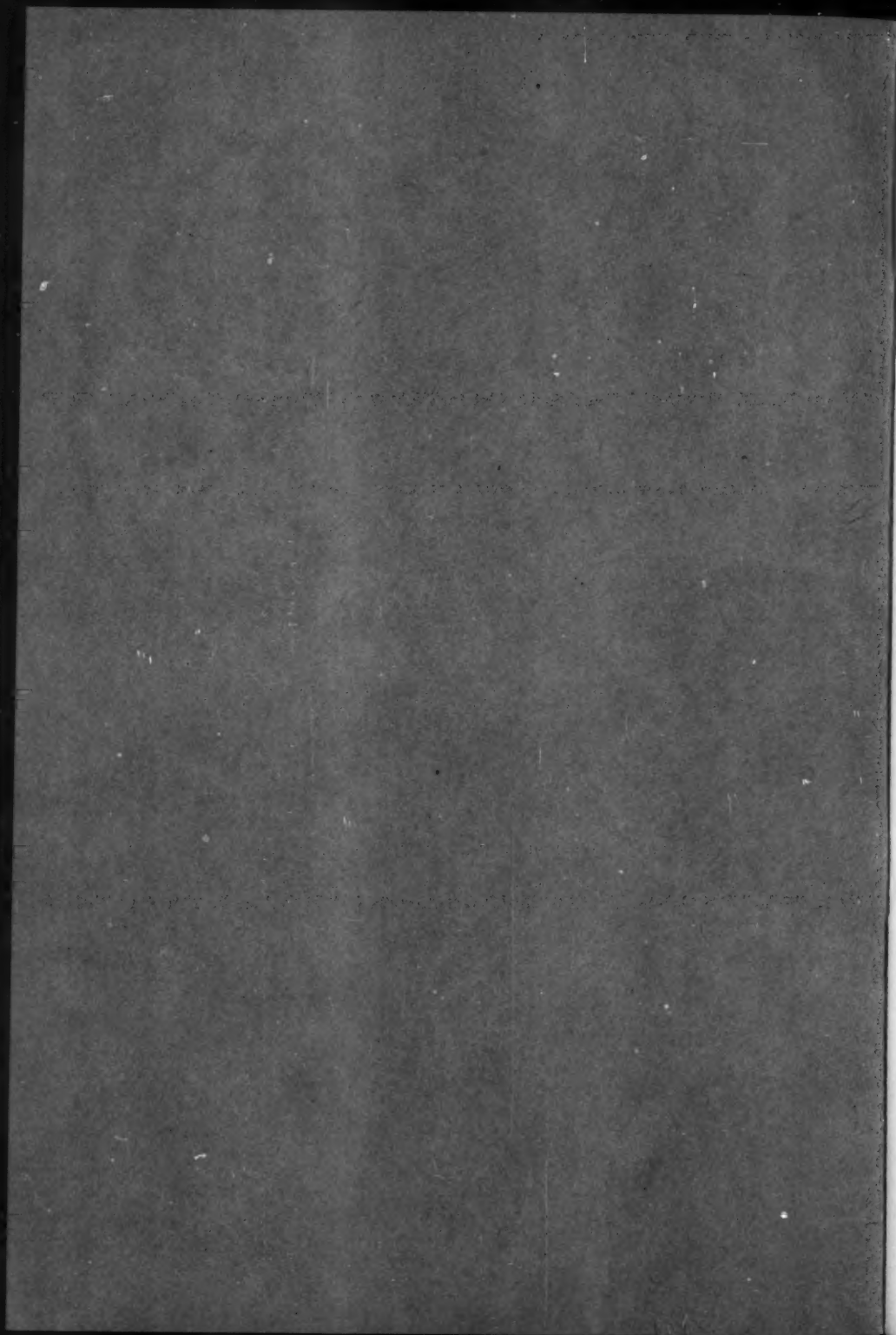


PRIMITIVE MAN

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THE NOOTKA FAMILY

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THE Nootka Indians are scattered along the whole west coast line of Vancouver Island, British Columbia. Numbering 3698 in 1881, they have since then, according to the official census (1929), dwindled down to 1634. Though the Nootka are now small in numbers, there are no less than nineteen sub-tribes among them. Apart from dialectic differences, all speak the same language and have a similar culture. In social groupings within the sub-tribes, we find class distinctions of nobility, commoners and slaves. Family life within each group is very similar. The data given in the present paper have been obtained by the writer partly from the published sources and partly from his personal observations and studies among the Nootka in the summers of 1923 and 1929.

In prospect of marriage the common manner of acquiring a wife is through purchase. Payment is made in blankets, canoes, mats or in such other commodity as is agreed upon. Bare purchase suffices for ordinary tribal marriage. But should a chief's daughter or relative marry, ceremony accompanies purchase. As for chiefs, it is not uncommon for them to purchase wives but

eight or ten years old. While purchase is made at such early age, the young brides remain under parental care until they are sixteen years old or thereabouts. The custom is one based merely on the assurance of securing the bride before another chief should make such purchase.

A head chief does not marry indiscriminately. He chooses a descendant in the direct line of a chief of equal rank. Even in this, there is not absolute freedom of choice, for as regards taking a first wife for himself or giving his children of a first wife in marriage, a chief must abide by the will of his tribe.

Wife purchasing is more or less a public matter and ordinarily is a simple procedure, but carried out ceremonially in the case of tribal nobility. There is always the usual barter as to price and dowry. The marriage ceremony itself varies. The following rites are typical.

In one method the ceremony simulates the capture of a whale. A procession forms on the beach nearest the party lodge. First of all a canoe containing three men is borne on the shoulders of eight others. The Indian in the bow of the canoe is the harpoon man; the one in the center handles the seal-skin buoy; the third member at the stern paddles, as it were, and steers. At the same time an Indian dressed in a blanket that hides his head crawls along on all fours just ahead of the procession, occasionally raising his body in imitation of a whale rising to blow. At intervals the harpoonist throws as if to make a strike, being careful always, however, against injury by a direct hit. Friends, following the canoe thus borne, sing to the accompaniment of drums and rattles. The burden of their song is their purpose to purchase a wife for one of their number, a narration of his merits, and the assurance of a fine bargain in blankets.

As the lodge is reached, members making the procession step aside while the Indian in the bow of the canoe throws his harpoon with such force against the plank serving as a door that he splits it. The split door is, however, kept barred, as the visitors pile a number of blankets and skins against it and, then resting, wait to be admitted.

After the visitors chant a while and place more blankets on the pile, a second harpoon is hurled against the door, a veritable cupid's dart. And yet if the purchase price does not satisfy parental

demands, the Indian damsel must remain obdurate, and the party, effecting nothing, must depart with its offerings.

In such a case, another lover is apt to approach within a few weeks. As more acceptable, the new suitor sets out with a great following. His friends fill five large canoes, which slowly approach the shore line abreast. The occupants standing up in them sing while brandishing their paddles. Just before reaching the surf, one of the party delivers a speech, stating the reason for their coming and how much they will pay. Then after landing and beaching their canoes they form a blanket procession.

Leading the procession that forms in single file, is a gaudily dressed medicine man, with face painted red, and bearing on his head a sprinkling of eagle down. He carries in one hand a large wooden rattle, and in the other a string of shells, and beats time with both to a monotonous song.

Next follows the first blanket-bearer who has one blanket over his shoulder, and, fastened to it, another blanket that is extended and held by an Indian following him. The latter holds the end of another blanket that extends to the next in line. In this manner eighty or more blankets may be brought in procession.

One after another the blankets are placed at the lodge door until the door is opened as a sign of the suitor's favorable reception. Even so, eighty blankets may not be enough. In that case the procession returns to the canoes, perhaps for as many more blankets.

But parents do not make any great haste; their daughter is valued highly and a suitor must wait. The suit may be kept up for a week with speeches by day and with songs and dances by night.

Parental objection is broken down finally by blanket values and the maiden is then carried away in triumph by the happy suitor. Blankets, skins, mats or other articles used in purchase are not as a rule kept by parents or relatives of the bride but are returned to the bridegroom. The latter distributes them at his home to his own friends and to those of his newly acquired bride. So, as a matter of fact, the price of the bride is the amount the bridegroom will give to assembled friends.

Another kind of bride-purchase surrounded with ceremony is the following. A sort of Indian village town-crier gives notice

that distinguished visitors have arrived. Upon this, the entire settlement assembles out of doors, squatting on the beach with blankets pulled up to their chins. Then in silence further announcements or proceedings are awaited.

Meantime thirty or forty canoes, serving as a great escort for the suitor, approach the shore. No word breaks the silence of some ten minutes. Then the question is asked regarding whence the visitors come and what they want, and this notwithstanding the fact that the object of the visit is well known. Thereupon a speaker in one of the canoes rises to address in a loud tone those assembled ashore. He gives the name and the title of the suitor, summarizes his history, and states the number and influence of relatives and friends in his own tribe. The object is to show how great an honor it would be to marry such a personage even without thought of much purchase money.

At the conclusion of such a speech, a canoe is beached from which a bundle of blankets is landed. This occasions contemptuous laughter on the part of the woman's friends who bid the suitor depart, for he has placed too small a value on the sought-for bride. Then an orator rising from among those squatted on the shore harangues all with praises of the woman sought in marriage. More gifts and more speeches follow for hours until a satisfactory price is reached. Following this a feast begins which lasts several days.

As to marriage matches made secretly or privately, these sometimes take place, when, for example, parents are otherwise opposed. In such instance the parties hide away in the forest for a few days. On their return an amicable adjustment is made. Even in this there is the note of purchase, because friends of the bride must be pacified with gifts.

There is no particular manner of courtship. The father of the bride considers settlement of marriage price a grave duty. As mentioned earlier, betrothal between children of chiefs is common. As a pledge of good faith, parents of both parties put up a number of blankets. And so respected are the betrothals that the wounded pride of a disappointed suitor or tribe is not easily healed, except by the return of whatever had been pledged.

Though a marriage price is fairly well known at the time of betrothal, a chief may raise the price ten or more blankets if his

tribal majority decides his daughter merits it. But this is not a usual thing. When no agreement has been made as to price at the time of betrothal, a price is formally offered time after time by the betrothed man. Acceptance of a third offer is taken as a sign that the betrothal will very likely be respected.

It is understood that if a third offer is rejected, the betrothal is broken and the pledge value, whatever it was, is forfeited by the woman's friends. This generally leads to bitter feelings, as in the case where some distinguished native chief or white man seeks the woman's hand.

Another way of breaking up betrothal is by mutual agreement. Among such as are well born, if the case be an inter-tribal betrothal, a sign of such termination is given on the part of each tribe by despatching a blanket-laden canoe from shore for some distance. Then the town crier, while engaged in song, throws the blankets overboard one by one.

Loyalty and sentiment of blood relationship dominate the Indian tribal life and constitute the strength of their simple social structure. Relatives always group themselves round family heads. An injury sustained by one relative is an injury to all. The feeling of kinship is intense, especially toward the immediate offspring, but it extends sentimentally no less in the ascending and descending direct lines as well as collaterally. Whether paternal kinship is stronger than maternal, is an open question.

In choosing wives men take women from either their immediate tribe or from a neighboring one. Consanguinity, unless very remote (as, for example, beyond the fourth degree), is considered a bar to marriage. Marriage between first cousins is looked upon with contempt. Inter-tribal marriages are made between the higher classes with a view to strengthening the foreign relations of one's own tribe. In any such marriage one would lose caste if one married beneath rank in one's own tribe.

Marriage is usually monogamous. Some of the head chiefs, however, have more than one wife; some have had even as many as eight. Should a chief marry more than one woman, he does not necessarily have to take others of his rank. But only children of his first wife can assume the father's rank. There seems to be no rigid rule as to precedence among wives of a polygynous husband. The first wife, however, particularly if she has children,

seems to have most authority in the home. On the death of a poor married male member of the tribe, it is not uncommon for a friend to add the widow among his wives and to adopt whatever children there are. But these latter are kept after the manner of slaves, and the younger are regarded as such. They may not be sold, however, outside their own tribe.

The marriage bond is not so stable but that it can be broken. Both men and women leave their partners for trivial reasons and remarry. It is a common practice. Such complete separation or divorce is at the option of either husband or wife. In either case, personal property of the wife reverts to her and forms a dowry for another marriage. In case of separation between members of different tribes, if children are young, they always go with their mother. This is, in fact, the general rule regarding children in all divorces. The mother cares for them while she lives, as long as they need her. Should the mother die, the father takes them. So great are the occurrence and facility of divorce that much confusion was found by the writer when seeking information as to particular domestic affairs.

When a question of marital infidelity arises, the aggrieved party is first offered a compromise in the form of a payment in blankets, skins, canoes, or mats. The precise amount in value is a matter for settlement by friends of the aggrieved party. In case of no such compromise, the injured partner may take revenge on the other partner or on any of the latter's relatives or friends. This may be satisfied by breaking up a valuable canoe, or by taking blankets, mats or furs.

Families are not large. Two or three children is the average number. Parental affection towards children is a distinctive characteristic. Corporal punishment is seldom administered. Parents deprive themselves to satisfy their children, and at loss of them by death, both the father and the mother give noticeable expression to their grief.

But though rude chastisement is spared, the childrens' respect for the head of the family is absolutely insisted upon. The father claims the right to correct wife and children, but since the wife can leave him for the slightest cause, the husband does not unduly exercise his right.

A child is named at birth. Later, guests gather for the con-

ferring of another name. Individuals may, as a matter of fact, change their names to suit themselves. In ten years a man may have had as many names. Quite frequently names convey a meaning such as Kill-whale, Take-down-tree, Make-canoe, Shoot-flying-bird, and the like.

In changing a name notice is generally given by announcing the change at any public gathering of the tribe. This is considered sufficient when the change is accompanied by no change of rank. With change of rank and dignity, a special tribal meeting is held.

The head chief's name is sometimes changed so as to mark events of signal importance to the tribe. It may happen also that the chief assumes the name of a deceased chieftain of a friendly tribe. This accounts for the frequent similarity of names found among individuals of different and even distant tribes. After adoption of a new name, the one discarded is never mentioned. Unthinking persons using the old name are promptly corrected.

A new name is conferred on a chieftain's son in this manner. Room is made for an assembling of guests by proper disposition of house furniture. When the friends have arrived two female slaves sing and rattle their instruments, at the conclusion of which the chief delivers a speech. A master of ceremonies then announces the name of each guest. To each guest a gift is given. A casual friend may receive a blanket or mat, while two or three valuable skins may be given to an intimate friend. Then the chieftain-host makes another speech stating the object of the party. He asks his guests to suggest a suitable name for his son. This is accomplished after some discussion, and then the name is formally announced. The feast goes on, and the name is repeated often to assure its proper pronunciation.

As to division of labor between husband and wife, or between male and female tribal members, the usual sharing of work is in vogue. The men do all the hunting, fishing, and cutting of firewood, while the women gather berries and roots, dress and cure fish or game, and carry wood and water as well as other transportable objects. Besides, they have the regular household duties to perform. This division of labor is followed among all classes of people, whether nobles, commoners, or slaves.

Such are some of the salient features of family life among the Nootka Indians.

THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE FAMILY

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THE FAMILY AND FORMS THEREOF: DEFINITIONS

BY the family we here mean the domestic group made up of mates and offspring. They usually form a single economic unit, and share a common life. The parents jointly care for and rear their children. The union itself is a more or less lasting one, even though it may not always be looked upon as lifelong and indissoluble.

The family system is in sharp contrast with the hypothetical system of promiscuity or free love. Under a free love régime, there would be mating, but the relationship would be characterized by impermanence and inconstancy. The mates would not constitute a true economic unit nor would they share a common life. The children would be cared for and reared either by the mother alone or by the community.

The family has various forms. These are reducible to three: monogamy, polygamy, and group marriage. Monogamy, or the union of one man and one woman, is divided into strict and prevalent monogamy. Prevalent monogamy may be described as a condition under which the great majority of individuals in the social or political group actually have only one mate, although more than one may be permitted by public opinion and tribal code, and the "prominent citizens" may in reality have two or more. Strict monogamy is the condition under which public opinion disapproves or the tribal code definitely prohibits domestic unions with more than one mate at a time. Polygamy has two forms: polygyny, under which one man has two or more wives, and polyandry under which one woman has two or more husbands. By group marriage we understand the simultaneous familial union of two or more husbands with two or more wives.

THE FACTS AND THEIR DISTRIBUTION

From the overwhelming mass of evidence at our disposal we can say with all confidence that the family institution is universal among primitive peoples, even among those on the lowest or simplest level of culture. Nowhere do we find promiscuity or

free love as the prevalent social institution. We find many tribes that permit a great deal of antenuptial or even postnuptial freedom, although on the other hand a considerable number of tribes observe very rigid pre-marital standards, and, among nearly all, adultery, except under certain limitations, is looked upon askance or rigidly tabooed. Among most primitive peoples divorce is permitted, often on rather trivial grounds or even by mere consent of one or both parties, although a minority of primitive peoples quite strictly hold marriage as not only a life-long union but a strictly indissoluble one. But however much of freedom and divorce be permitted, the family institution itself, the relatively stable union of mates with common life and joint rearing of offspring, is found among primitive peoples without exception and ordinarily constitutes the basic social institution.

Most of the cases recorded or interpreted as group marriages are not true group marriages. A closer analysis of our factual data shows that these cases are in reality reducible to wife-loaning or wife-sharing under certain restrictions, as for instance among the Chukchee, Yukaghir, and Gilyak of northeastern Siberia, or among the Dieri and Urabunna of Australia, or to rather broad prenuptial or postnuptial sex freedom, as, for instance, among the Masai of eastern Africa, or the Bororó of South America. Among all these tribes, underlying these deviations and aberrations is the clearly established family institution.

We seemingly have only one series of actual cases of true group marriage. These cases are confined to certain scattered polyandrous tribes of the Tibetan-Indian area, and appear to be combinations of polyandry with polygyny and to have arisen out of the basic polyandry.

Throughout most of the uncivilized world, prevalent monogamy is the rule. This, for instance, is or was the condition among nearly all the Indians of North, Central, and South America. Among practically all Indian tribes, polygyny was permitted. But ordinarily the men of the common people had but one wife. On the other hand, chiefs, medicine men, outstanding warriors, and other leading citizens very commonly had two or more wives. Strict monogamy occurs among a relatively small minority of primitive peoples. Instances of strict monogamy that may be cited as illustrations are the Zuñi and Hopi of our American South-

west, the Sea Dayaks of Borneo, and most of the pagan tribes of the Philippine Islands.

Among the very great majority of primitive peoples, polygyny is permitted to men in a position to acquire and support more than one wife. But, as previously noted, among most polygynous peoples actual polygyny is confined to a minority of the men. Multiple or advanced polygyny, that is, the having of a considerable number of wives, occurs in various areas of the uncivilized world, but is in practically all cases confined to powerful chiefs, great warriors, or very wealthy men. Codrington, for instance, speaks of some of the wealthy men of Melanesia as having eight and ten, and even fifty and sixty wives. Cases of twenty or even fifty or more wives are reported here and there in Africa, while among our own American Indians we have rare records of chiefs or leading men with ten, twenty or more wives.

Polyandry crops out in various parts of the world. It is however distinctly exceptional and sporadic in distribution. In only one part of the world,—the large area extending from Tibet down through parts of the Hindu Peninsula and out into sections of Southeastern Asia and the East Indies,—do we find it a little more common. But even here the distribution is very far indeed from being either continuous or universal. With most of the peoples among whom polyandry is found, it is more apt to be practised by a minority than to flourish as a general tribal custom.

Scattered over the world, in out-of-the-way places, at the tip ends of continents or archipelagos or in remote mountain fastnesses or jungle interiors, are a number of peoples living on the simplest level of material culture. They lack all agriculture and, except for the dog, all domesticated animals. They are wanting, too, as a rule, in the simplest arts, such as those of weaving and pottery-making. They stand on the very lowest rung of the cultural ladder. We commonly speak of them as the lower hunters or marginal peoples. We have good reason for concluding that these peoples of simplest culture represent, in the main, cultural survivals from a very early prehistoric period. Their social institutions are, therefore, of particular interest as indices of very early human culture.

Among a very considerable number of these lower nomad peoples, strict monogamy is the rule. In fact, if we exclude the

problematic Australians, nearly half of the lower nomads are pretty strict monogamists. Such, for instance, are at least one section of the Chavantes (of the Gês family) of Brazil, a good many of the Bushmen and Negrillos of South and Central Africa, most of the pygmy Negritos of the Andaman Islands, the Malay Peninsula, and the Philippine Islands, most of the Jakun bands of the Malay Peninsula, the very primitive Caucasoid or Australoid Vedda of Ceylon, Sakai (many bands at least) of the Malay Peninsula, and Toala of Celebes.

Among the remainder of these lower marginal peoples, actual monogamy is customary for the vast majority of the tribesmen, although polygyny is permitted and is to a limited extent practised. Generally speaking, however, the lower nomads are appreciably less polygynous than the settled agricultural peoples with whom they may be in direct or indirect contact. We find practically no cases of multiple or advanced polygyny among the true marginal nomads, and only one instance of polyandry. This last occurs among the Punan of Borneo. The Punan are extremely fond of children, and, although a wandering hunting people, frequently rear families of eight or nine children. If a woman marries an elderly man and has no children by him, she is permitted to take unto herself a second husband without dismissing the first.

FACTORS AFFECTING THE FORM OF THE FAMILY

The foregoing paragraphs give, in summary outline, the facts and their distribution. Let us turn to the factors that account for the facts. We are not in a position to determine all of the factors or to determine the exact relative importance of each factor. From our field evidence, however, we are able to single out a great many, perhaps the very great majority, of the factors that influence the form of the family. It is not uncommonly assumed that the major or sole factors that determine the form of the family are economic conditions and the polygamous tendencies either of the male or of the female. That these factors are operative is obvious from the facts that we possess. But it is equally obvious that a number of other factors influence the form of marriage. Before attempting to list and classify these in orderly fashion, it may be well to give a couple of concrete illustrations of primitive peoples' own views of the matter.

Ndombe, chief of the Bena Bikenge, a people numbering about a hundred thousand, and living near the confluence of the Kasai and Lubi Rivers in the Congo Valley, had thirty-two wives. Verner, an American missionary, an intimate friend of Ndombe, presents Ndombe's viewpoint in the following words.

"Polygamy was a frequent theme of conversation between Ndombe and myself. He inquired if it were not better for a great chief, of aristocratic blood and noble birth, who would naturally transmit to his offspring highborn traits, and strength of character, to have a large family of fine and healthy children, than for his thirty-odd wives to be distributed around amongst the plebeian mass of common blood and ignoble quality? He also jokingly remarked that the plurality of his wives saved him many an uncomfortable moment, for instead of berating him, they occupied themselves with scolding one another. Moreover their mutual jealousy and fear of one's getting the largest share of his affections, made all vie with one another in providing for his comfort and in contributing to his pleasure. Again, as a wife adds to the dignity and power of her lord, so the more wives, the greater the estate of the man" (Pioneering in Central Africa, 256-57).

Father van der Burgt reports his Warundi of the Lake Tanganyika region of East Africa as defending their system of polygyny and prevalent monogamy on the following grounds. Most of the Warundi on account of their poverty have only one wife and console themselves by saying that this is a better plan because where there is more than one wife there is apt to be jealousy. However, they consider that much is to be said in favor of polygyny. A chief or man of standing in the community needs to establish and maintain his prestige by having more than one wife, otherwise people will think he is a nobody. Then, too, the native will say: "I need more hands to labor in the fields, to grind meal, to make beer, and to look after household and other tasks". Finally, as sex abstinence is obligatory at certain times a second wife is desirable (Un grand peuple de l'Afrique équatoriale, 103).

Generalizing from a very large amount of empirical evidence at our disposal, we may sum up the factors determining the form of marriage as psychological, biological, economic, political, social and religious.

The chief *psychological* factor, the sex craving, is probably in

man neither monogamous nor polygamous, so far as heredity or instinct is concerned. We find, however, among many peoples very clear evidence of the influence of this factor on the social institution of the family. Among some of the Australian tribes, for instance, the older men solemnly advise the young people to marry middle-aged women who have had experience in household management. This advice may sound very sensible, but the purpose of it is obvious enough when we note that the old men have a very strong tendency to acquire the younger women for themselves.

Among perhaps the majority of primitive peoples, the desire for children on the part both of the man and of the woman is the rule. Where, for one reason or another, there are no children, either the wife or, as more commonly, the husband will take a second mate. Sometimes in this case the first union ends in a divorce, but not infrequently the first union remains, and so the marriage develops into a bigamous or polygamous one.

A still more important element is the *biological* one. The world over, the sexes at birth are nearly equal in number. This fact tends to shape marriage along monogamous lines. The process does not of course work out infallibly or automatically. Social customs may cut across and block it, or else the balance of sexes at maturity may itself be disturbed through war, slavery, or other causes.

Economic factors influence the form of marriage in many ways. Among the lower hunting peoples, who accumulate little wealth and live almost literally from hand to mouth, it is not easy for the average man to support more than one spouse and brood. Where, on the other hand, tillage is in use, the woman's labor in the fields may be valuable to the man and may serve as an incentive to polygyny. We have, too, frequent records of the first wife herself requesting or demanding that her husband acquire another wife to relieve her of part of the burden of her daily toil in the fields and in the household.

Both horticulture and herding are avenues to the accumulation of wealth. Such accumulation in turn makes more easy the acquisition and support of more than one wife, and of more than one brood of children. Furthermore, where wealth obtains, ideas of prestige are apt to be better crystallized, and one way of main-

taining and adding to prestige is by having a plurality of wives. The law of conspicuous waste enters in.

Political factors have a share in shaping the form of the family. The rise of the chieftaincy, particularly of the semi-kingly chieftaincy, develops the same incentives to the maintenance of prestige as are developed through the accumulation of wealth. A chieftain, to maintain his status in the eyes of his people, must often have a larger harem. War, too, by disturbing the balance of the sexes through the killing of the men and capturing of the women, may easily lead to polygyny among the dominant people. Slavery has much of the same tendency, as it often gives rise to concubinage, which blends into the custom of secondary wives in plural unions.

Certain *social* customs play a part. Where the husband, under the system of matrilocal residence, must go to live with his wife's people, monogamy is apt to be the result. On the other hand, where the levirate is in force, as it was among the ancient Jews and as it is among a great many peoples at all levels of culture, polygyny, of course, obtains. Among certain peoples, a costly present or bride price may be called for at the time of the wedding. As few men may be able to afford to pay this more than once, this type of marriage by present or by "purchase" tends toward the establishment of at least prevalent, if not strict, monogamy.

Finally there are social or *magico-religious* factors that may be operative. Among many primitive peoples, the marital relation is strictly taboo either from the time of conception to the time of weaning, or during a part of this long period, or at other seasons. We have to recall, too, that among many primitive peoples the young are nursed two and three and even four or five years. These social or magico-religious taboos are an important influence making for polygyny.

INTERPRETATION OF THE FACTS AND THE FACTORS

So much for the facts and the factors in the primitive family. What do these facts mean? What light do they throw on the early history and development of the family?

A generation ago it was rather commonly held, by many outstanding American and European anthropologists, that the family developed out of an original or primitive state of family-less promiscuity or free love. This theory with its many variants has been

quite abandoned by anthropological science. There may be a rare professional anthropologist who still advocates it, but if so his voice is all but silent, or, perhaps we should better say, silenced by the facts.

All our evidence today,—and we have a vast amount of it,—points overwhelmingly towards the conclusion that the family has not only been in existence but has been the basic social institution from the earliest times to which our evidence reaches. As a matter of fact, we find the family everywhere today, from the more advanced primitive peoples to those on the very lowest level of culture. We find, it, moreover, not merely existent and hanging on, as it were, to the social structure, but as the chief basis and foundation of that structure. Other influential institutions, such as the state or the sib, may exist alongside of it, particularly among many of the more advanced primitive peoples. But even here, the family is firmly set as the cornerstone of the social system.

Our evidence seems to justify us in drawing the further conclusion that not only the family but the monogamous family has been in existence from the earliest prehistoric times to which our evidence carries us. It used to be a common assumption that the monogamous family was a late development in human culture and that it was preceded by a period either of polygamous or group marriage or of no marriage at all. This theory has gone by the board.

Our evidence for the early rise of monogamy is very strong. Prevalent monogamy is by far the more common condition among primitive peoples today. Furthermore, among the lowest nomad marginal peoples,—those who best represent earlier prehistoric culture,—prevalent monogamy is even more the rule than among the later more advanced cultures. Finally, many of the more important economic, political, and magico-religious factors that make for polygyny are quite absent from our contemporary non-agricultural and non-pastoral peoples and must have been absent from prehistoric peoples prior to the rise of agriculture and herding.

On the other hand, it is not possible to prove from the scientific evidence at hand that there was a period or a long period in the earliest history of the race in which strict monogamy was universal and in which there was no polygamy at all. It is true that

among the nomadic marginal peoples there is proportionately less polygyny and more strict monogamy than among the more advanced agricultural and herding peoples. But even at the lowest levels of material culture, we find very definite indications of polygyny.

We are on safer ground when we maintain, on the evidence just cited, that polygyny gained considerably in extension with the advent of agriculture and herding. We also have very good reason to conclude that multiple polygyny, that is, ten or twenty or more wives, was introduced into human culture at a relatively recent date. It is rather uncommon even among advanced agricultural and herding peoples. It is not found at all among the lower marginal tribes. Nor could the factors which are usually responsible for it have been operative on the lowest and earliest cultural levels.

Regarding polyandry, little need be said. It is a highly sporadic phenomenon. Its ultimate causes are little understood. Female infanticide appears to account in part for some cases of it. But it is found among peoples who do not practise female infanticide and it is absent from most peoples who do practise female infanticide. Its existence among a people as simple in culture as the non-agricultural nomadic Punan of Borneo suggests that polyandry may have arisen sporadically at very early periods in human prehistory.

The family has received a brutal shock in our own time and culture, chiefly as a result of the impact upon it of the Industrial Revolution and of our marked Occidental individualism. A good many contemporary observers have expressed grave fears regarding the future of the family. Prophecy in a field of this kind is made at considerable risk. But, if we can forecast the future from the past, we may look forward with reasonable confidence to the family weathering the storm that has broken about its head. So far as our evidence speaks, and it speaks in no uncertain terms, the family goes back to the earliest prehistorical times of which we have knowledge. It has survived all manner of economic, political and social change. It is obviously endowed with a tough, wiry, hardy, and resistant constitution. It is ill, but that it will die is very unlikely. Its long history suggests strongly that, as it has endured the manifold and profound cul-

tural changes of the past, so likewise will it endure the manifold and profound cultural changes of the present and of the future.

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The Facts and Factors. The factual data on the form of the family among primitive peoples are scattered through thousands of sources. Even a selected bibliography of the firsthand sources, to be of practical value, would have to run into scores or hundreds of titles. Fair comprehensive bibliographies of the chief sources may be found in the works of Westermarck, Briffault, and Hobhouse, cited below.

Our best and fullest collections and classifications of the factual data are those given in: E. Westermarck, *History of human marriage*, 5th edition rewritten, 3 vols., (Macmillan, or Allerton), New York, 1922; R. Briffault, *The mothers*, 3 vols., (Macmillan), New York, 1927. As convenient collections of facts, both works are invaluable. As interpretations of the facts, see below. For an elaborate and excellent tabulation of some of the essential data on the family from about 500 tribes representing all cultural levels of the uncivilized world, see L. T. Hobhouse, G. C. Wheeler, and M. Ginsberg, *The material culture and social institutions of the simpler peoples*, repr., (Chapman and Hall), London, 1930, ch. iii. This last work is of special value for checking up generalizations in the field, although a much more thorough discussion of the classification and stratification would have been desirable. In determining the relative primitivity of tribal cultures, the mere level of actual culture is insufficient as a criterion and may be misleading. Hobhouse' classification is based chiefly or entirely on actual cultural level.

Westermarck and Briffault. The works of Westermarck and Briffault bulk so large in the literature of the primitive family that a more detailed evaluation of them may be worth while. Like Frazer's *Golden Bough*, they are indispensable reference works that should find a place in every large library. Both writers have assembled in convenient form an enormous number of facts and have given numerous clues toward the solution of many problems in the history of the family.

Briffault has shown that much of Westermarck's picture of primitive family life is too rosy. On the other hand, Briffault

himself goes to the other extreme, and falls into the same uncritical, one-sided, and loose acceptance of his sources of which he accuses, with considerable justice, his opponent, Westermarck. To an incautious reader, Briffault may easily give the impression of being the more critical and objective. In reality, his use of his source material is very superficial and uncritical, notwithstanding his elaborate bibliography and his unending array of quotations from sources. Westermarck and Briffault are not, however, the only ones within or without the anthropological camp who have gleaned incautiously from professional field studies and from less pretentious travelers' tales.

Both Westermarck and Briffault have unconsciously selected their evidence to support their respective theories, though neither is quite as delinquent in this respect as were Spencer and some of the older schools.

As for interpretation of the facts, Westermarck is sounder and more sober, and sticks closer to his evidence than does Briffault, who in many respects is little short of erratic. Briffault has made a gallant sally to rescue the now abandoned theory of primitive matriarchy. But the facts stand in serried ranks against him. His attempt at revival of the theory is based, not on the facts, but on incautious inference. With his wide command of the sources, he is able to undermine not a few of Westermarck's generalizations and to call attention to a number of things which anthropology has neglected, but he brings no new and important evidence to shore up the fallen matriarchal theory and he utterly fails to overthrow the great mass of evidence that stands solidly against it.

Both Westermarck and Briffault, the latter in far higher degree, generalize too readily from insufficient field data. Evidence for a given trait or custom from ten or twenty tribes is very interesting, but falls far short of establishing the generalization that the given custom is of worldwide distribution among the thousand or more tribes and cultures that exist or have existed. Briffault in particular is almost as reckless in his generalizations as is Frazer himself; and is about equally so in his interpretation of the factual data.

Neither Westermarck nor Briffault gives indication of intimate familiarity with the very complicated and very technical methods of ethnological interpretation and historical reconstruction. This

technique is comparable in a sense with that used by the geologist in determining relationship and stratification. The culture-historian's task of reconstruction of time-sequence is perhaps even more difficult than the geologist's, and his path is beset with more numerous, more treacherous, and more deadly pitfalls. Intimate acquaintanceship with the technique of cultural interpretation is imperative for any one who would write a history of the family, especially a monumental one, such as Westermarck's and Briffault's set out to be.

Westermarck appears to have a distant acquaintanceship with this technique. Briffault appears to have none at all.

Gathering ethnological data from firsthand sources and classifying them is a relatively easy task, requiring chiefly good general intelligence and a knowledge of languages. Further, assembling a very large collection of data from books and building up an extensive bibliography of used sources that may reach into the hundreds or even thousands are in themselves merely matters of time and patience, and of not nearly as much of either as those unfamiliar with the field might imagine. An industrious worker, on an eight-hour schedule, can in one day usually glean chief data on the family from a dozen to a score of works, if he has good library facilities. In a three-month period of steady work, he will at this rate have covered about a thousand sources. In fact, it is a relatively simple task to write and publish a compilation that by its bulk, its extensive quotation of sources, and its lengthy bibliography may appear very impressive to the casual reader. The casual reader is impressed by Westermarck's and Briffault's enormous three-volume works. In reality, there is more real science at the back of the one-chapter treatment by Lowie (cited below) than in all of Westermarck's or Briffault's opera magna.

The real test of the scientific value of any work on cultural origins, development, and sequence is the indication it shows or does not show of ability to interpret the source material sanely, critically, cautiously, and originally. To do this there are required scientific resourcefulness and imagination kept in close leash by balanced judgment, and by an eternal vigilance to avoid entrapment in the innocent-looking but fatal quicksands that dot and stud the field of cultural prehistory. Briffault has apparently been

deceived by the seeming simplicity of the task he attempted. So, too, has Westermarck, but less so.

Westermarck has an advantage over his critic in that he has had a certain limited amount of field experience and of face-to-face contact with less advanced culture. Briffault has seemingly had none at all. All the latter's data are derived from books, just as his main thesis of the early matriarchate has been derived from the less dependable source of conjecture.

To sum up. Both Westermarck and Briffault deserve our gratitude for their patient labors in assembling and classifying so large a number of facts. Their interpretations, particularly Briffault's, suffer from serious defects. In methodology and approach, both works belong to the nineteenth, not to the twentieth century. A comprehensive, objective, critical study of our thousands of sources at hand on the primitive family still remains to be made.

Interpretation of Facts. Our best, short, scientific, balanced interpretation in English is R. H. Lowie, *Primitive Society*, (Boni and Liveright), New York, 1920, ch. iii. On the interpretations by Westermarck, Briffault, and Hobhouse, see above. Freud's curious reconstruction of family origins and development in his *Totem and taboo*, tr., (Moffat, Yard), 1919, pp. 233ss, is not taken seriously by the anthropological world. Our best review and interpretation of the tangled facts on the Australians' domestic culture is R. Malinowski, *The family among the Australian aborigines*, (University of London press), London, 1913.

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WITIKO AMONG THE TÊTE-DE-BOULE

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Maniwaki, P. Q.

THE Witiko, among the Tête-de-Boule, an Algonquian-speaking people of the upper St. Maurice River, Quebec, is a fabulous monster, a species of giant cannibalistic man. The Indians give him different names: *Witiko*, *Kokotshe'*, *Atshen*. These three names denote the same being. Usually in conversation they use the term *Kokotshe'*. The children tremble and keep still when people say to them that *Kokotshe'* will hear them and come after them. Ordinarily when adults are speaking to children, they call him *Atshen*. The older people speak to the children about this evil being in veiled language and in hushed voice as if to fool him and as if he must not know that they are speaking of him. We may note in passing the resemblance of the word *Atshen* to *atshak*, the word for "soul".

Witikos have never been numerous. At most one or two of them wander around the country, and this only from time to time. Sometimes there are none around for many years.

According to the Tête-de-Boule, the witikos were people possessed with the devil. But in all cases, before becoming witikos, these possessed individuals had been powerful "jongleurs", terrible and ferocious sorcerers. The witikos were the fine flower of wickedness. There was never any such being as a good witiko.

There were both male and female witikos, but they never lived together as married couples. If by chance two witikos encountered each other, a dreadful fight took place in which the victor devoured the vanquished.

The witiko wore no clothing. Summer and winter he went naked and never suffered cold. His skin was black like that of a negro. He used to rub himself, like the animals, against the fir, spruce, and other resinous trees. When he was thus covered with gum or resin, he would go and roll in the sand, so that one would have thought that, after many operations of this kind, he was made of stone.

The witiko had no lips. His mouth was frightful and menacing. His breath passed through his enormous, crooked teeth with a sinister hissing. The witiko's eyes were big and rolled in blood.

They were something like owls' eyes. His feet, which were nearly a yard long, had only one toe, the big toe. His heels were very long and pointed. This is the way his tracks appear on sand and snow. The hands of the witiko were hideous, and the fingers and finger-nails were like the claws of the great mountain bears.

The voice of the witikos was strident and frightful, and more reverberating than thunder. The sound of his voice was a long-drawn-out one, accompanied with fearful howls. When the people heard it, every one fled to the woods and swamps looking for a safe place to hide.

His food was rotten wood, swamp moss, mushrooms, corpses, and human flesh. When a witiko happened upon the trail of any one, he waited until darkness fell, to go eat the luckless victim. When the witiko had arrived close to the tent of his victim, his heart beat twice with joy upon his breast, making a sound like that which grouse make when they drum.

Since the Indians have become "priants", that is to say, Christians, the witikos who spy upon Indians near caches, dangerous rapids, and so forth, have given up their repasts of human flesh, and one can say that they have entirely disappeared. The Indians say that every ten or fifteen years they come across the tracks of witikos. In the autumn of 1923, the Tête-de-Boule of Obedjiwan were in terror of a mysterious dog that used to come to their reservation at nightfall.

The strength of the witikos is prodigious. With one stroke or twist of the hand they could disembowel dogs or men. Neither arrows, nor axes, nor anything on earth could kill them. However, some of them were actually killed. One Indian who had killed a witiko was called out in the middle of the night. The moment he issued from his wigwam, he was disemboweled and eaten, and the witiko stuck a sharp-pointed knife into a tree at a level twenty feet up from the ground.

The witikos used to start great forest fires which they would put out in an instant. During their wanderings, they would rip off the surface of the earth and snap off the tops of the trees, and very often they would disappear in the clouds. They would skim along the surface of the water and plunge down into it with the ease of an osprey. They would traverse lakes without coming to the surface of the water. Their speed was such that they raised waves capable of engulfing great bark canoes.

It was almost impossible to escape from witikos. They seemed to be able to foresee and to know beforehand where their victims had gone.

KALINGGA RIDDLES

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APOKKA'D means riddle. This word is always used to start the recitation of the riddle. Sometimes the recitation is in a monotone. Riddles 'rhyme' in the native manner, more or less according to sound. The native word for 'rhyme' is *maianto'wan*. Riddles of only two or three words are complete, although they have no rhyme.

Riddles are mostly used by children. But they are also used by the old men when they meet. The old men know the greatest number of riddles.

Riddles are just a pastime. No moral is drawn from them, nor are they used by way of counsel or lesson. There may be rare exceptions, of course, to this rule.

The accuracy of the riddles here given can be guaranteed. They were gotten from the mouths of the people. The collection is small, but, in such matters, if one wishes to be accurate, even a small collection means much time and painstaking labor.

As to the whole number of riddles extant in Kalinga, I cannot say. I read this collection to a native who is of more than average information. He told me: "They are all I myself know". But before he departed, he recalled a couple more from his memory. Maybe there are a couple of hundred more! But I do not think so. I had two others, erotic in theme, but have misplaced them and cannot locate them.

Every tribe, or, better, every barrio probably has its own riddles, in addition to such as are common to all barrios. I have another collection, in the Kalingga dialect of Nanoñg. Most all of these are different from the ones in the present collection, which are in the Kalingga dialect of Lubuagan.

The natives claim that these riddles have come down to them from their forefathers. A few of these riddles, such as number

three, may, I suspect, have come in from the civilized Filipinos. The natives deny this.

It would be impossible in a short paper to give a full explanation of all these riddles. This would require a considerable review of the natural history of the region, of the life and customs of the people, and so forth. What may seem to us insipid or in bad taste in the riddles, often amuses the natives much.

Nothing has as yet been published on the Kaliŋga dialect of Lubuagan. I have a grammar, texts, songs, etc., that will appear some day. In transcribing the texts of the riddles the Anthropos system has been used in the main. The chief exceptions are: a!, about as in French è; ol, about as in German ö. The maṛk ' after vowel denotes stress.

1. Apokka'd: Oḡna'k ka i'pusna / Maṅga'la isda'. Answer: Pa'ok. I get hold of his tail / and it fetches cooked-meat. Answer: A dipper.

2. Apokka'd: Iṅsa'nna gay maṅga'n sinabo'ṅg / Sa'na la'eṅg kane'n no uma'ṅgot. Answer: Lobo'n. He is accustomed to eat stinking conserve. / He will eat it only when it stinks. Answer: A grave. (The second verse is in Iloko dialect, always used this way. It is the translation of the first).

3. Apokka'd: Opa't iki'na si kaban-o'ḡna / Dua' no dumaka'l / Awni' kad tumolo' no mala'kay. Answer: Ta'go. It has four feet when small / two when grown / it becomes three when old. Answer: Man.

4. Apokka'd: Ossa'an di iki'na / Sino'yon di bu'kudna. Answer: Ba'lat. It has but one leg. / One *oyon* is its load. Answer: Banana fruit. (*Oyon* is a load of rice of 100 bundles).

5. Apokka'd: Kumto'b di ana'kna / Adi po ina'na. Answer: Mi'mis. The child bites. / The mother does not. Answer: Mimis. (Mimis is a species of grass used for roofing. The side leaves hurt the naked feet of people, while the long leaves do not).

6. Apokka'd: Bigbiga't kad / Mampasali'boṅgda. Answer: Manok. In the morning / they wear their saliboṅg. Answer: Chicken. (The saliboṅg is a bamboo spear. When the chick hatches, its bill, like a spear, comes out first).

7. Apokka'd: Mano'kkon pukpukka'wan / sumakya'b Kalina'wan. Answer: Ida'w. My very white chicken / ascends in Kalinawan. Answer: Idaw. (The idaw is the omen bird. It foretells good or bad luck, particularly in headhunting. Kalinawan is a place).

8. Apokka'd: Mañga'n kad si Atto'ñg ud Tañglag/ Midoom bugta'natna'. When Atto'ñg (a man) of Tañglag burns his mountain, the ashes fall here in Lubuagan. (Bugta means food falling from fingers or mouth when eating. Tañglag, northeast of Lubuagan).

9. Apokka'd: Labna'k Soba'k/ umalalak-a'k. Answer: Ga'ñgsa'. The basket of Soba'k / laughs at the top of his voice (guffaws). Answer: The gong.

10. Apokka'd: Mawawa'lit / sinkaa'lgaa'lgawya kalabi'labi'. Answer: Oñga'l. (As a little house) always open / day and night. Answer: The nose.

11. Apokka'd: Loñgo'g sinpadda' / doppla's sinlabi'. Answer: Obo'k. A hole (in a tree) during the day, a flat stone during the night. Answer: Sleeping mat. (It is rolled up during the day).

12. Apokka'd: Ta'daw Dimo'g / mamu'nga kad, bonna'og. Answer: Gaya'ba. The tree (whose-branches-are-all-cut) of Dimog / bears fruit, and the fruit is bonnaog. Answer: Orange (big variety). (Dimog is the name of a man. Bonnaog is a kind of jar).

13. Apokka'd: Ta'daw Dañg-it, / mamu'nga kad balli'it. Answer: Pagoy. The tree (with-all-branches-cut-off) of Dañg-it / bears fruit and the fruit is balliit. Answer: An ear of rice. (Dañg-it is the name of a man. Balliit is a round-shaped insect).

14. Apokka'd: Tolodan mansoso'nod. Answer: Dalpo'ñg. There are three brothers. Answer: A dalpo'ñg. (A dalpo'ñg is a fireplace made of three stones only).

15. Apokka'd: Gumi'nga batinna. Answer: Bioy. Its kidneys are talking. Answer: A house. (The people inside are talking).

16. Apokka'd: Bato' moli'ngan / adi pon mabuli'gan. Answer: Ipyo'g. A stone that can be used as a grinder (means here 'smooth') / cannot be carried by two people (in the native way, that is, tied to a pole). Answer: An egg. (Because it is round).

17. Apokka'd: Gopo'ng Ilo'ko / adi po gay umando'. Answer: Oto'p. Hair trimming of the Iloko (civilized man) / never more will it grow. Answer: Roofing. (The natives wear their hair long, with side-trimming. The roofing grass or thatch on the house is trimmed on its lower edge).

18. Apokka'd: Manisdo'ngak kad Wait / Andi'd dua' Olalit.

Answer: Ti'lag. I look in the place called Wait / and there: two women's dresses (skirts with stripes). Answer: Rainbow. (Almost always these dresses are double rainbows).

19. Apokka'd: Danumkon sinattu'ok / adi pon gay madimo'k. Answer: Danum di iyo'g. My water not-filling-entirely-the-container / cannot become troubled. Answer: Coco-nut water.

20. Apokka'd: Iñgsa'nna gay mañgan taba'. Answer: Igad. He is accustomed to eat fat (lard). Answer: Igad. (Igad is a rasp for coconuts).

21. Apokka'd: U'nasko Antiti'ko / nanon-ono'd napiko. Answer: Takoñg. My sugarcane in Antitiko (a place) / they follow each other, curved. Answer: Takoñg. (Takoñg is a kind of grass leaves, curved all in the same direction).

22. Apokka'd: Bamban-i't a billi'kiñg / daydayokdoko'na Tikiñg. Answer: Tanud. A small tattoo / it pierces through Tikiñg. Answer: A needle. (Tikiñg is a mountain in the west. The explanation given me of the answer is: "A needle is black as the tattoo, and can go through the cloth").

23. Apokka'd: Gaya'man si pagitpi't / gayagaya'ton init. Answer: Binila'g. A centipede on the river bank / is exposed to be dried in the sun. Answer: Rice-in-bundles-exposed-in-the-sun. (The word gayagayaton is used only in this expression).

24. Apokka'd: Manba'yoba'yo gay / umala'lgaw ya kalabilabi'. Answer: Tu'doy. It pounds (rice) / day and night. Answer: The water rushing forth from the spring.

[The following short note is contained in a letter received from Father Billiet a short time before the riddles. It concerns a subject not at all connected with the riddles, but is added as having an interest of another kind.]

Our Kalingas are of a higher sort of culture than the Bontoks. Bontok tribes severely punish adultery and any attempt at polygyny. But our Kalingas (especially the richer class) take one or two additional wives. This kind of polygyny is now permitted. My Kalinga friends tell me that it was not permitted "before". One told me that "it was severely punished until one day a baknañg (an influential rich man) permitted, through his influence, a man to take a second wife. After this case remained unpunished, many imitated his example". The particular baknañg referred to is still living.

WHY THE CROW HAS BLACK FEATHERS: AN IBALOI TALE

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THE following tale is one of many gathered among the Ibaloi of East Benguet, Mountain Province, during the writer's residence in the area.

Once upon a time, *Gwak-gwak*, the crow, was sitting upon a branch of a mango tree. She was preening her feathers, and she felt angry when she thought of herself being not so beautifully feathered as were the other birds.

At that time, the crow had gray feathers, not black ones. While *Gwak-gwak*, the crow, sat upon the branch of the mango tree, her heart was filled with jealousy as she thought of *Salak-sak* whose feathers were green and blue.

All the other birds were always happy, because they were beautifully feathered. *Gwak-gwak*, the crow, knew this, and she was angry at *Poliw-poliw* who had blue wings.

She was angry at *Tchugwil-tchugwil* who had a white breast. She was angry at *Altchas* who also had a beautiful white breast, and who was black-winged just like *Purian* and *Oomel*. She was angry at white *Pod-poo*. She was angry at red-feathered *I'munaan* and yellow *Kosidi*.

She was angry at all the birds, at *Ketoopee* who was always singing, at *Butching* in the rice fields, at *Pitdungai* along the rivers, at *Butikai*, the swallow, at *Poliw-poliw* with his white eyes, at *Kodi-banga*, the brown sparrow.

All the birds knew that *Gwak-gwak* was jealous. *Ku-kug* knew it. *Tek-tek* on the hills knew it. Even the smallest birds, such as *Swit-swit*, *Petitaan*, *Sejok*, *Acharoog*, they knew it.

When the big bird of prey, *Bokaw*, silently flew along high in the sky, *Gwak-gwak* hid her jealousy in the shadow of the leaves.

As *Gwak-gwak* sat on the branch of the mango tree and preened her feathers, it happened that *Tilai*, the big lizard, passed by and tarried to take a rest on a stone under the mango tree.

From her branch, jealous *Gwak-gwak* looked down upon *Tilai*, the lizard, and saw how glittering and lovely was his skin.

"Where are you going, *Tilai*?", asked *Gwak-gwak*.

Tilai, the lizard, turned his head and saw jealous *Gwak-gwak* on the branch of the tree.

"I have just been out to visit my family," answered *Tilai*, "and now I am going back home".

"Happy fellow," said *Gwak-gwak*, "happy fellow, that you always have time to go walking, and that you are always so beautifully clothed. Your skin is as lovely as the tattoo on the arms of the women. Can you not find a way for me to change my ugly feathers? I, too, want to be beautiful as you are and to be beautiful like my companions the birds. As I am, everybody looks down upon me because my feathers are so ugly".

As *Tilai*, the lizard, listened, he knew that *Gwak-gwak* was jealous. So he planned a trick to punish the jealousy of the gray crow.

"Come along with me, friend crow", said *Tilai*, "come to my house. I can prepare something fine, and the color of your feathers will surpass in brightness those of all your companions".

"Is that true?", cried *Gwak-gwak*, and with a jump she was at the side of *Tilai*. "If you can help me, I shall be grateful to you as long as I live".

"Never mind, *Gwak-gwak*", said *Tilai*, "I shall be glad to do it for you. I have known for a long time that something must be done to cure your sorrow and loneliness. Come along with me".

So *Gwak-gwak* followed *Tilai* homewards. The home of *Tilai* was between the rocks on the hillside, and it was very dark inside the dwelling of *Tilai*.

Gwak-gwak said to *Tilai*: "I cannot see anything inside. How dark is your house!"

"Of course it is", answered *Tilai*, "but I am used to it. Do not be troubled about it. Stay in your place, and I shall now prepare what I promised you". *Gwak-gwak* heard *Tilai* scraping a kettle.

"What are you doing, *Tilai*?", asked *Gwak-gwak*.

"I am now preparing to make you the most beautiful of all the birds. But I must not lose time. Be patient. Stay in your place. Do not disturb me now in my work, for it is very difficult to prepare what I am preparing."

While he spoke thus, *Tilai* kept turning the spoon in the wonderful thing he was preparing, and *Gwak-gwak* kept hearing the scraping in the kettle. It was very dark in the house of *Tilai*, and the only thing that *Gwak-gwak* could hear was the scraping of the

spoon in the invisible kettle, so that *Gwak-gwak* became tired and fell asleep.

Tilai, who was used to the darkness of his home, looked at *Gwak-gwak* and saw that she was asleep. So taking his kettle glittering with soot, he overturned the very dirty and greasy stuff on the crow, and then ran out, leaving *Gwak-gwak*, awakened and angry, and covered by the kettle.

The whole day long *Gwak-gwak* screamed and cried. She was covered with the black and shining soot. *Tilai*, the lizard, summoned all the birds, and brought them to the entrance of his house, and told them to wait for crow to appear in a new suit.

Tilai entered his house alone, and slowly removed the dirty and sooty kettle from over *Gwak-gwak*.

Gwak-gwak was now free, and with a great curse she ran away. But soon she was outside of the darkness and appeared in the daylight. She heard a big laugh, and she saw all the birds gathered outside. All the birds mocked at *Gwak-gwak* the dirty crow whose feathers were now pasted over with soot.

Thus did *Tilai*, the lizard, punish the jealousy of *Gwak-gwak*, the crow, and ever since that time *Gwak-gwak* has been black-feathered.

NOTES ON THE CUINIS AND CULLARIS OF WESTERN AUSTRALIA

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[The following data were obtained from Father Alcalde by Brother Dominic Augustine, F.S.C., to whom we are indebted for them and for the permission to publish in PRIMITIVE MAN.]

THE following brief notes refer to the Cuinis and Cullaris, of the Drysdale River region, East Kimberley, Western Australia. Our experience with these tribes dates back to 1908.

These natives do not till the soil. They live entirely by hunting and gathering. Like the natives in all northern Australia, they live well, for they have an abundance of game, fish, roots, and so forth.

Physically they are splendid types, straight as an arrow, the

men standing close around six feet tall and the women proportionally large. The natives are lithe and graceful in their carriage and are not at all badly featured. The aborigines of tropical Australia appear physically to be of a much finer stamp of people than their brothers in the cooler latitudes.

The Australian aborigines are regarded by many as the lowest type of humanity, but they are intelligent enough to be taught skilled trades and manual labor of any kind, and they work well under white supervision. When Christianized, they turn out to be useful men possessing a fair amount of latent intelligence.

Every man is a law unto himself. Murder is hardly looked upon as a crime. The natives steal at will. The women are the slaves of the men, and, when necessary, are the beasts of burden. Murder is the great arbiter of all disputes. In their tribal quarrels, which are frequent, murder takes place on a large scale. This keeps down population considerably.

The natives resent the intrusion of the white man. The first few years of our mission of Drysdale, our Fathers daily carried their lives in their hands. Although none of them was killed, some of them were seriously wounded, even while distributing rations to the natives. For many years, however, the natives have been friendly and now give no trouble.

The natives near our Drysdale River mission practice circumcision. Their marriage laws are very lax. The strongest takes his pick. The weak must be content with what he gets.

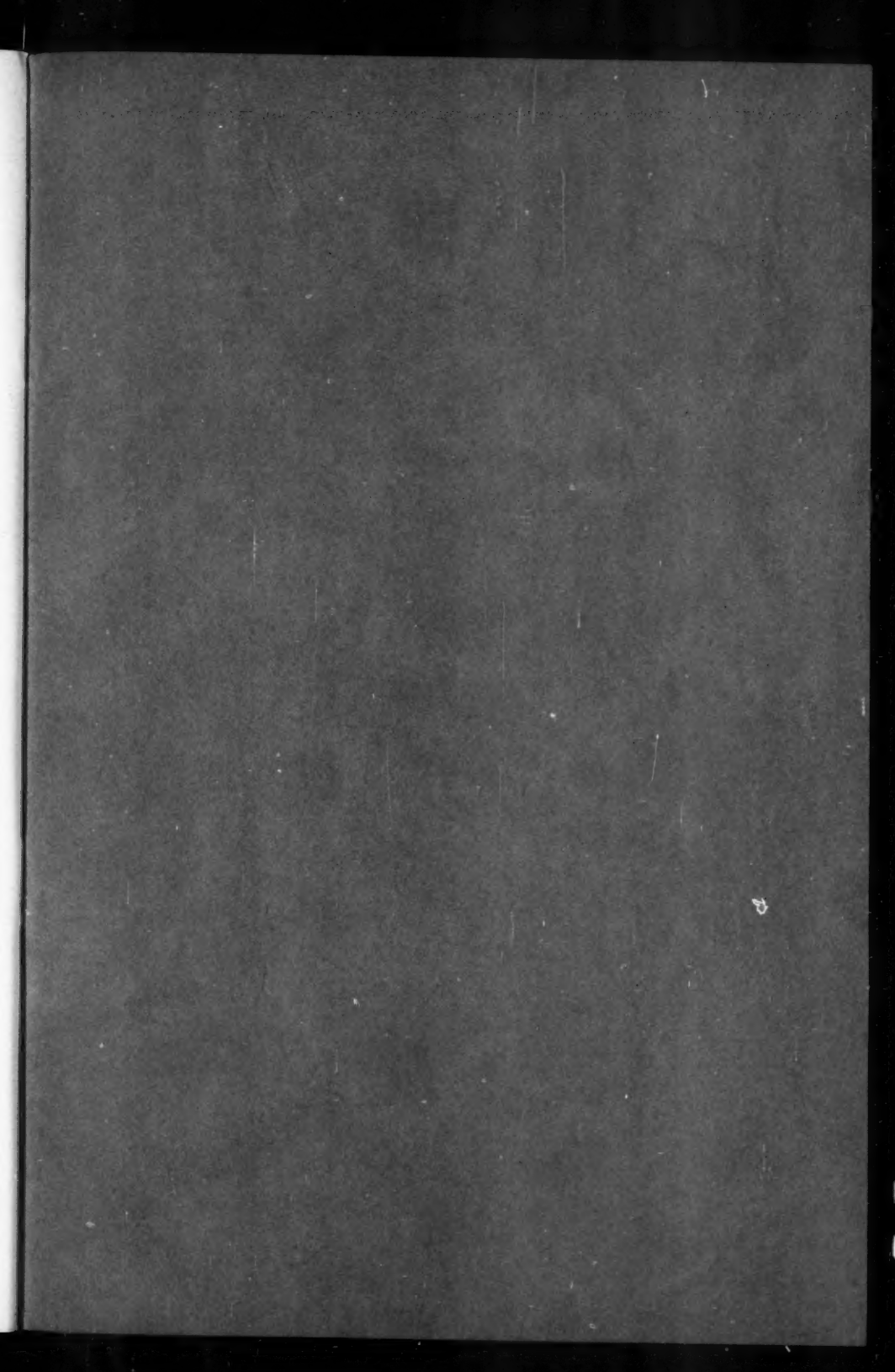
Cannibalism is rife among these northern Australian blacks. They are expert butchers. The heart goes to the strongest and is the first part of the body to be disposed of. Next the shoulders, arms, and trunk are given to the men, while the legs go to the women. All this is systematically carried out. The flesh of the white man is looked upon as a dainty morsel.

In their native condition, the aborigines are nomads without fixed home. They keep however to their respective tribal territories. They have neither house nor furniture, and possess little beyond their spears, boomerangs and battle axes, which they always have at hand. They wear no clothing whatever, except when they come to the mission. As soon as they get out of sight or range of the mission, all clothes are again cast aside.

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